

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 206613
ORIGIN EA-06

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ONY-00 /007 R

DRAFTED BY EA/TIMBS:DPSULLIVAN:REFRITTS:CCH
APPROVED BY EA/TIMBS - MR. FRITTS
EA/RA - MR. CLEVELAND (INFO)
DESIRED DISTRIBUTION
EA ONLY

-----101894 152304Z /13

P 152113Z AUG 78
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY JAKARTA PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 206613

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: SHUM, ID

SUBJECT: SUMMARY HUMAN RIGHTS ACTION PLAN - INDONESIA

1. THE DEPT IS CURRENTLY ENGAGED IN A REVIEW FOR SELECTED COUNTRIES OF STEPS TAKEN AND PLANNED FOR INTEGRATING HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS INTO THE DEVELOPMENT AND IMPLEMENTATION OF OUR ECONOMIC, SECURITY, CULTURAL AND OTHER BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL PROGRAMS AND POLICIES FOR THOSE COUNTRIES. INDONESIA HAS BEEN SELECTED AS AN EXAMPLE OF A COUNTRY WITH HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEMS ON WHICH WE PRESUMABLY HAVE SOME LEVERAGE. THE PAPERS ARE TO BE SHORT AND FOLLOW AN EXPERIMENTAL FORMAT. THE FOLLOWING PARAGRAPHS ARE AN EA DRAFT IN RESPONSE TO THIS REQUEST. WE WOULD APPRECIATE THE EMBASSY'S COMMENT/REVISIONS PRIOR C.O.B. WEDNESDAY, AUG 16 (WASHINGTON TIME).

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 206613

2. I. STRENGTH OF DOMESTIC FORCES FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IMPROVEMENT

THE STRENGTH OF INDIGENOUS FORCES WITHIN INDONESIA FOR IMPROVEMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS CONDITIONS VARIES BY CATEGORY AND SPECIFIC RIGHT. IN THE CASES OF RIGHTS OF THE PERSON PLUS CIVIL AND POLITICAL LIBERTIES, THESE FORCES ARE NOT WIDESPREAD. THERE IS NO BROAD FERVOR WITHIN INDONESIA FOR

THE RELEASE OF THOSE DETAINED SINCE 1965 ASIDE FROM INDI-

VIDUAL HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVIST LAWYERS, SOME INTELLECTUALS AND STUDENT LEADERS. FOR REASONS OF STATE POLICY, THE GOVERNMENT HAS TAKEN THE LEAD IN PROMOTING PUBLIC ACCEPTANCE OF THE RELEASE PROGRAM. IMPROVEMENT OF LEGAL DUE PROCESS, WIDER PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS AND BROADER PRESS FREEDOM HAVE A WIDER CONSTITUENCY. SUPPORT STEMS FROM MORE STUDENTS AND INTELLECTUALS PLUS MEMBERS OF THE OPPOSITION PARTIES (PARTICULARLY THE MOSLEM PARTY) AND IN THE CASE OF INCREASED PRESS FREEDOM, THE PRESS ITSELF. FREEDOM OF RELIGION IS UPHELD BY THE GOVERNMENT. PERIODIC MUSLIM EFFORTS FAVORING GOVERNMENT ENFORCEMENT OF RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCE AND PROSELYTIZATION ARE STRONGLY RESISTED BY THE MAJORITY OF INDONESIANS WHO ARE NON-MOSLEM OR PRACTICE ECLECTIC FORMS OF WORSHIP. IN CONTRAST, THERE IS BROAD PUBLIC AND BUREAUCRATIC SUPPORT FOR THE RIGHTS OF VITAL NEEDS (FOOD, SHELTER, HEALTH CARE AND EDUCATION). ALTHOUGH INDONESIA IS ONE OF THE LARGEST AND LEAST-DEVELOPED NATIONS, ITS GOVERNMENT GARNERS INTERNATIONAL RESPECT AND POPULAR STRENGTH BY ITS MAIN EMPHASES ON ECONOMIC GROWTH AND SOCIAL SERVICES BASED ON A MIXED ECONOMY, INCREASING AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTIVITY, AND RURAL IMPROVEMENTS.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 206613

3. II. SUSCEPTIBILITY OF INDONESIA TO U.S. PRESSURES

INDONESIANS ARE PROUD, SENSITIVE, OUTWARDLY POLITE BUT A FREQUENTLY XENOPHOBIC PEOPLE TO WHOM THE FORMS AND NUANCES OF INTERPERSONAL BEHAVIOR ARE OF SUPREME IMPORTANCE. SOCIAL NORMS DEPICT INTERPERSONAL HARMONY AS A VIRTUE AND PERSONAL CONFRONTATION AS UNCOUTH AND AN EVIDENCE OF WEAKNESS. UNPLEASANT MESSAGES ARE THUS CUSTOMARILY DELIVERED INDIRECTLY -- IF AT ALL -- THROUGH INTERMEDIARIES. IN DEALING WITH FOREIGNERS, THE LATENT BUT COMMON XENOPHOBIA PRESENTS A FURTHER COMPLICATION. THE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE CONDUCT OF US HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY ARE THAT REPRESENTATIONS TO ENCOURAGE EFFECTIVE PROGRESS ARE MOST PRODUCTIVE WHEN EXPRESSED DISCREETLY IN PRIVATE AND COUCHED IN TERMS OF THE GOVERNMENT'S OWN INTEREST AND POLICIES. SYMBOLIC PUBLIC GESTURES, OPEN CRITICISM OR FOREIGN CLAIMS OF SUCCESSFULLY EXERTING PRESSURE PREVENT INDONESIAN AUTHORITIES AS A MATTER OF PRIDE AND CULTURE FROM TAKING ACTIONS WHICH, IF PRESENTED TACTFULLY, THEY MIGHT REGARD AS ADVANTAGEOUS. STYLE IS THUS AS IMPORTANT AS CONTENT. AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND, THE USG INFLUENCE WITH THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT IS BASED ON MORE THAN A DECADE OF TRUST AND EXPERIENCE SUPPLEMENTED BY US ECONOMIC AND SECURITY ASSISTANCE. WHILE INDONESIAN NEEDS ARE GREAT, THEY DO NOT OVERRIDE NATIONALISM AND INDONESIA WILL REJECT

ASSISTANCE RATHER THAN ACQUIESCE TO FOREIGN CONDITIONS IT

CONSIDERS HUMILIATING. THERE ARE ALSO OTHER ACTIVE SOURCES OF MILITARY AID. THERE IS LITTLE IF ANY PRACTICAL LEVERAGE STEMMING FROM US ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE. US AID PROGRAMS (INCLUDING PL-480 COMMODITIES AND RECEIPTS) ARE FOCUSED ON BASIC HUMAN NEEDS AND THEIR CURTAILMENT WOULD ONLY POSE CURRENT AND FUTURE HARDSHIP ON THE ALREADY POOR. WHILE OUR AID PROGRAM IS RELATIVELY LARGE, THE US IS ALSO NEITHER THE SOLE NOR MAJOR FOREIGN DONOR.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 206613

4. III. REALISTIC AND SPECIFIC PHASED GOALS

A. ENCOURAGE INDONESIA TO MAINTAIN AND ACCELERATE THEIR SCHEDULE FOR THE PHASED RELEASE OR TRIAL OF THE 1965 DE-TAINEES, NOW ANNOUNCED FOR THE END OF 1979.

B. PROMOTE INDONESIA-ICRC COOPERATION ON CONTINUING INSPECTIONS OF PRISONS AND DETENTION FACILITIES.

C. FURTHER OPENING OF EAST TIMOR TO INTERNATIONAL ACCESS, INCLUDING CATHOLIC RELIEF SERVICE (CRS) OPERATIONS AND ICRC ACTIVITY. AN INVITATION TO CRS TO OPERATE PL 480 TITLE III PROGRAMS IN EAST TIMOR IS ANTICIPATED AS SOON AS THE PRESENT GOVERNOR IS CHANGED. WHILE THE TIMETABLE FOR THE GOVERNOR'S REMOVAL HAS SLIPPED, A START TO CRS OPERATIONS BEFORE THE END OF 1978 IS POSSIBLE. THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT HAS MADE CLEAR THAT PAST RED CROSS FRUSTRATIONS IN EAST TIMOR INHIBIT ANY DISCUSSION OF FUTURE ICRC ACTIVITY THERE UNTIL CRS IS IN OPERATION AND THE CURRENT ROUND OF ICRC INSPECTIONS COMPLETED. A REALISTIC TARGET DATE FOR THE BEGINNING OF DISCUSSIONS OF AN ICRC PROGRAM IN EAST TIMOR MIGHT BE DURING THE FIRST OR SECOND QUARTERS OF 1979.

D. TRIAL OR RELEASE OF PERSONS ARRESTED IN EARLY 1978. THE GOI HAS RELEASED ALL BUT ABOUT 60 OF THE APPROXIMATELY 800 PERSONS ARRESTED FOR ANTI-GOVERNMENT DEMONSTRATIONS OR TERRORIST ACTIVITIES IN THE PRE-MPR PERIOD AND PUBLICLY ANNOUNCED IT WILL TRY, RATHER THAN DETAIN, THOSE STILL HELD. WE SHOULD ENCOURAGE THE GOI TO MOVE EXPEDITIOUSLY ON THIS SELF-COMMITMENT AND COMPLETE THE PROCESS BEFORE THE END OF THE FIRST QUARTER OF 1979 (THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE ARRESTS AND THE EXPIRATION OF PRESENT

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 206613

INDONESIAN LEGAL AUTHORITY TO DETAIN WITHOUT TRIAL).

5. IV. COSTS/BENEFITS OF VARIOUS COURSES OF ACTION

A. PRIVATE REPRESENTATIONS. QUIET DISCUSSIONS WITH INDONESIANS BY THE AMBASSADOR, HIS STAFF AND SENIOR OFFICIALS

IN THE DEPARTMENT, THE ADMINISTRATION AND THE CONGRESS HAVE PROVEN THE MOST EFFECTIVE METHOD OF EVOKING INDONESIAN PROGRESS. COMBINED WITH A DISCIPLINED US DETERMINATION NOT TO CLAIM CREDIT, OUR APPROACHES HAVE PROVEN LEAST COSTLY TO OTHER US INTERESTS IN INDONESIA BY AVOIDING A DIRECT LINKAGE TO FOREIGN PRESSURE.

B. PUBLIC REPRESENTATIONS. PUBLICIZED REPRESENTATIONS OR STATEMENTS OF CONCERN OR REGRET MAY BE EFFECTIVE ON CAREFULLY CHOSEN OCCASIONS IN HELPING STEM OCCASIONAL DETERIORATION IN HUMAN RIGHTS CONDITIONS. HOWEVER, THEY DO NOT GENERATE POSITIVE IMPROVEMENT AND ARE MORE COSTLY TO OTHER US INTERESTS THAN PRIVATE REPRESENTATIONS.

C. SYMBOLIC GESTURES. SYMBOLIC GESTURES HAVE MINIMAL POTENTIAL FOR INDUCING PROGRESS IN HUMAN RIGHTS CONDITIONS IN INDONESIA AND POSE THE DANGER OF REVERSING POSITIVE TRENDS. THEIR USEFULNESS IS LIMITED TO INTEREST GROUP OR CONGRESSIONAL IMPACT IN THE UNITED STATES. OF ALL POSSIBLE COURSES OF ACTION, SYMBOLIC GESTURES HAVE THE HIGHEST COST-LEAST BENEFIT RATIO.

D. IFI LOAN VOTES. NEGATIVE VOTES OR ABSTENTIONS ON IFI LOANS, OR THE THREAT THEREOF, HAVE LITTLE POSITIVE POTENTIAL. AS OUR VOTE DOES NOT PREVENT LOAN APPROVAL, NEGATIVE IFI VOTES OR ABSTENTIONS SERVE ONLY AS SYMBOLIC GESTURES WITH MINIMAL OR NEGATIVE BENEFIT AND HIGH COST.

E. LIMITATION OR DENIAL OF ECONOMIC OR SECURITY ASSISTANCE. CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 06 STATE 206613

TANCE. IN STARK CASES OF PROVEN AND CONTINUED INDONESIAN DISREGARD OF IDENTIFIED HUMAN RIGHTS, IT COULD BE APPROPRIATE TO LIMIT OR DENY ELEMENTS OF SECURITY ASSISTANCE TO INDONESIA AS A VIVID POLITICAL INDICATOR OF OUR DISAPPROVAL. (IT IS ASSUMED THAT INDONESIAN VIOLATIONS OF SECURITY ASSISTANCE WOULD ALREADY BE SUBSUMED BY THE TERMS OF APPLICABLE AGREEMENTS AND LEGISLATION). OUR ACTIONS SHOULD BE INSTIGATED ONLY AFTER OTHER METHODS OF INFLUENCING INDONESIAN BEHAVIOR HAVE PROVEN INEFFECTIVE. WHILE THE BENEFITS MAY BE HIGHER IN TERMS OF US PUBLIC OPINION THAN IN HALTING GOI ACTIONS OR IMPROVING CONDITIONS IN INDONESIA, THE COSTS TO US INTERESTS WOULD PROBABLY BE SOMEWHAT LOWER THAN A USE OF SYMBOLIC ACTIONS, PROVIDED THAT OTHER COURSES OF ACTION HAVE BEEN EXHAUSTED AND IT IS CLEAR TO THE GOI THAT WE HAVE TRIED OTHER OPTIONS. EXCEPT UNDER VERY DIRE CIRCUMSTANCES, DENIAL OR LIMITATION OF ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE WOULD REMOVE THE FACTOR OF INDONESIAN CONFIDENCE ON WHICH OUR INFLUENCE RESTS AND

RECEIVE LITTLE CONGRESSIONAL OR INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT.

6. V. PROPOSED SCENARIO

THERE ARE CURRENTLY FAVORABLE TRENDS EVIDENT TOWARD ALL SPECIFIED GOALS OF US HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY TOWARD INDONESIA (ALTHOUGH THE PACE OF PROGRESS TOWARD THE ENTRY OF INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN ORGANIZATIONS INTO EAST TIMOR IS SLOW). OUR STRATEGY SHOULD BE TO ENCOURAGE CONTINUATION OF THESE FAVORABLE TRENDS AND, WHERE POSSIBLE WITHOUT DEVALUING THE COIN OF OUR INFLUENCE, ACCELERATE THE MOMENTUM. WE SHOULD BE GUIDED IN OUR EVALUATION OF POTENTIAL AREAS FOR FURTHER PROGRESS, APPROPRIATE METHODS AND TIMING BY THE JUDGMENTS OF OUR AMBASSADOR IN JAKARTA WHO WILL HAVE THE CLOSEST FEEL OF INDONESIAN RECEPTIVITY AND CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 07 STATE 206613

FIDENCE. THE FIRST STEP IN OUR PROPOSED SCENARIO IS THUS FOR OUR AMBASSADOR, ON HIS RETURN TO JAKARTA IN EARLY SEPTEMBER, TO ASSESS THE CURRENT SITUATION, EXPLORE THE DEGREE OF EXISTING RECEPTIVITY TO OUR CURRENT CONCERNS, NOTABLY ACCESS BY INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN AGENCIES INTO EAST TIMOR AND PROGRESS TOWARD RELEASE OR TRIALS OF THOSE CURRENTLY ARRESTED. DEPENDING ON HIS FINDINGS, WE WOULD ENCOURAGE FURTHER PROGRESS THROUGH PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS WITH SPECIFIC INDONESIAN LEADERS. AN ASPECT OF THE DISCUSSIONS WOULD BE TO STRESS THE INTERNATIONAL BENEFITS FOR INDONESIA OF ADHERING TO ITS OWN LEGAL CODE LIMITING DETENTION PERIODS SHOULD PROSPECTIVE TRIAL DATES APPEAR TO BE SLIDING TOWARD THE LIMITS WHICH EXPIRE IN THE FIRST QUARTER OF 1979. SIMILAR BENEFITS TO INDONESIA FROM ACCELERATING THE FINAL YEAR RELEASES OF THE "1965" DETAINEES COULD ALSO BE NOTED WHEN THE 1978 TRANCHE OF RELEASES IS COMPLETED. VANCE

CONFIDENTIAL

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 26 sep 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: HUMAN RIGHTS, PROGRESS REPORTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 15 aug 1978
Decaption Date: 20 Mar 2014
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978STATE206613
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: EA/TIMBS:DPSULLIVAN:REFRITTS:CCH
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Expiration:
Film Number: D780334-0396
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t197808122/baaaeznn.tel
Line Count: 256
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 15d3f759-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN EA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: ONLY LIMDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: ONLY LIMDIS
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 01 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1588354
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SUMMARY HUMAN RIGHTS ACTION PLAN - INDONESIA
TAGS: SHUM, ID
To: JAKARTA
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/15d3f759-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014